THE New Republic

Congress and The Reform of Union Practices

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APRIL 8, 1957

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Washington Wire

He did it!

WE COULDN'T get to the White House press conference last week, being occupied with Mr. Beck, but the news swept through Washington like wildfire. We met a friend hurrying from the conference, so excited he could hardly speak. "He's done it!" he stammered. "No! you don't mean—?" we gasped. "I *do* mean it; he took the plunge. He's come out for—for—" (his voice trembled) "his own budget!"

It shook us, but the press associations confirmed it. President Eisenhower now favors his budget. When the great decision was taken we can't be sure. No man to act lightly, Eisenhower has been on the fence three months. He did not rebuke Treasury Secretary Humphrey; he invited Congress to trim his budget; he weighed the question carefully. Other Presidents have defended their budgets as a matter of course; it has been assumed heretofore that such responsibility was the implacable law of politics. But Eisenhower rises above political laws; his reluctance to take uncomfortable decisions accounts for his unique 75 percent Gallup Poll rating.

Well, we couldn't be happier! We think the Eisenhower budget is good, too. We think the conservative "economy" attack on it has ulterior motives epitomized by the US Chamber of Commerce's denunciation of Federal aid for schools and its proposal to cut out free milk for children. We love to support our President. The growth of the budget is no greater than the growth in population, or of gross national output, and it is far less than the growth in per capita national income.

Eisenhower reads few newspapers. But on the morning of last Wednesday's press conference *The New York Herald Tribune*, which is one that the President sees and which has supported him undeviatingly, carried an almost plaintive, direct editorial appeal urging him, for God's sake, to do something. The unsigned editorial (written by columnist Roscoe Drummond) declared the "economy" coalition was hacking his Administration to pieces—in welfare, defense and foreign aid.

We can imagine what followed. A digest of the editorial was doubtless laid on the President's desk by James Hagerty. . . . Should he, or shouldn't he—? Like Hannibal's decision to cross the Alps, like Lincoln's to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, Eisenhower faced the problem. You know the rest!

"Most Valuable Senator"

WE ALWAYS approach this column in a divided mood. Shall we rail, or try raillery? Last week in Congress occurred events that, for the life of us, we can't be funny about. The annual pathetic effort by a few dedicated Senators to improve the lot of taxpayers by cutting down pork barrel appropriations, and closing the country's biggest tax loophole —the 27½ percent depletion allowance for the gigantic oil companies—fluttered out as usual.

Reporters constantly vote Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) the "most valuable Senator." What a lonely eminence it is! He stood there pleading March 28 for a cut in the $1.5 billion annual rivers and harbors pork-barrel appropriation bill.

In view of all their professions of "economy," couldn't they just support one amendment, he asked, to give the President power to reject the most wasteful items? His plan got only a scattering of votes.

The day before it was the same. That was the effort to get the Senate to modify the vicious depletion allowance which gives a special tax benefit to oil and gas producers. Resolutely standing beside him was one of the most conservative men in the Senate, John Williams (R, Delaware). Treasury Secretary Morgenthau once called this "perhaps the most glaring loophole in our present revenue law." As Williams put it simply, "the oil industry is not now paying its proportionate share in financing our government and our defense."

Anything in the newspapers about it? Practically nothing. The amount of taxes lost through the depletion allowance is about $1.5 billion. Williams and Douglas would not have eliminated the allowance but would have curbed it moderately; they would have saved the Treasury perhaps $400 million. It would have given modest tax relief to small business under a plan instituted by Senator Fulbright (D, Ark.) including a 20 percent tax cut on incomes below $25,000. But concern for small business is something for election time.

Most Americans probably don't even know that gigantic US oil companies abroad get depletion allowances, too, and other golden gimmicks. Aramco or the Arabian-American Oil Co. (owned by the $8 billion Standard Oil Co., the $3 billion Texas Co., and Socony and Standard of California, both billion dollar corporations), for example, paid no Federal income tax at all on net earnings of $272 million in 1955!

Off the Record

ANYTHING about this in the editorials? Hardly a word that we could see. Doris Fleeson and Tom Stokes had powerful columns, but they were almost the only ones. Senators Douglas and Williams offered their respective proposals as amendments to the corporation tax bill. Under Senate rules one-fifth of those present must raise their hands to get a record "yea and nay" vote. On the Williams try only Aiken (R, Vt.), Potter (R, Mich.) and Lausche (D, Ohio) and a few others joined the two. On the Douglas try came the additional support of Neuberger (D, Ore.) and Javits (R, N.Y.). Not enough even to force a record vote! Democratic Leader Johnson (Texas) and Minority Leader Knowland (Cal.) exchanged indulgent smiles. Both are from oil states. As for the Democratic Party it is looking for issues —but not hot ones.

If this reporter's obscure notes ever come to the eyes of a youth, some undergraduate say, he can find these two sad little episodes reported in the *Congressional Record*, pp. 3968-3989, and pp. 4072-4098, March 27 and March 28, respectively. But why bother? The forsythia is coming out now, and a young man's fancy should be far better employed than in lost causes. Dear me—he might look this up, find his indignation mounting and, in after life, live to become a reformer. What a risk! Far, far better live coolly and compromisingly—like the American press.

T.R.B.

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The New Republic

A JOURNAL OF OPINION

APRIL 8, 1957

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Correspondence

► *The Education Controversy*

SIRS:

MR. KEARNEY'S reply to Arthur Bestor (*NR*, March 25) illustrates the near futility of discussing education with an educator. Contrary to Mr. Kearney, educated Europeans have no pleasant illusions about Americans "achieving so much with so many." The distinguished British educator, Sir Richard Livingstone, wrote after extensive travel in this country:

> In America the clever children are an underprivileged class. . . . When the American boy or girl proceeds to college . . . they [sic] are from one and a half to two years behind an English boy or girl of the same age and ability, and very commonly they are backward in both the use of the English language and in knowing how to read a book. . . . At college the student has to make up about two years of education which

(*Continued on page 23*)

Regulating Labor

EVERYBODY now agrees that Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa are bad boys. They haven't been convicted of anything yet, but they certainly have been tried and found wanting. Yet the drama of these colorful and disreputable characters tends to divert us from what matters most about their misdeeds. They merely symbolize the problem of how we may assure accountability and responsibility on the part of labor leaders. And to say that the whole answer to corruption lies in more aggressive self-policing by the unions is to evade the problem. Sen. Pat McNamara to the contrary, new federal legislation *is* needed.

To illustrate, should not the embezzlement of funds belonging to any unions engaged in interstate commerce be made a federal, criminal offense? Nor does it seem unreasobable to us to demand that all unions do what some now do voluntarily—give a full public accounting of their financial affairs to the membership. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union has done it for 15 years. The International Typographical Union regularly prints in its journal, which goes to all members, a detailed financial statement down to such items as $3.15 for calendar pads. The International Association of Machinists, in addition to publicizing its records, requires that union funds be invested only in US or Canadian government bonds or other securities approved by the US District Court for the District of Columbia. The IAM also forbids loans of any kind to a private individual and it employs 21 full-time auditors to audit all its expenditures and income.

If we're looking for a place to begin, why not union welfare and pension funds, which ought clearly to be subject to closer federal scrutiny? These funds operate under standard actuarial principles; proper reserve requirements can and should be established. Last year, legislation for this purpose was introduced in the Senate by Paul Douglas and Irving Ives and has been re-introduced this year. It has labor's blessing, and even though certain business organizations and the insurance industry—which would also come under surveillance under the Douglas-Ives bill—are reluctant to advertise the facts about management pension funds and insurance commissions, legislation of this sort has a reasonable chance of being approved.

Seventy-five million people pay $7 billion a year into welfare and pension funds, which today have a reserve of between $20 to $25 billion. "Shocking abuses" in management have been uncovered by a Senate Labor Subcommittee,

> . . . such as embezzlement, collusion, kickbacks, exorbitant insurance charges and various other forms of malfeasance. Mismanagement, lack of know how, waste, extravagance, indifference, nepotism, and a lack of criteria for sound operation have contributed to the unnecessary

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> drain on such funds with a consequent serious loss to the employee beneficiaries.

The report of this Senate investigating committee concluded that,

> . . . without some legislative direction, the abuses, problems, and weaknesses which do exist will not be self-correcting.

There is, in a word, a variety of legislative reforms which ought to be considered by Congress and which, if adopted, would strengthen and not weaken, honest trade unionism. And as the McClellan Committee digs up additional unpleasant truths, popular demand for such constructive reform will sharpen.

But so, may we point out, will destructive demands increase. For there are numerous Congressmen who will turn revelations of labor corruption into an excuse for organizing a lynching party. Men like Senator Barry Goldwater are less dedicated to honest unionism than they are to less unionism. Such men can afford to sit tight for the present, but when the country has become hopping mad at the very word labor, knives will come.

The National Association of Manufacturers and the US Chamber of Commerce will resurrect the old proposal for bringing unions under anti-trust laws; they would also like to ban so-called compulsory unionism. Extending anti-trust legislation to unions would root out industry-wide bargaining; prohibiton of "compulsory membership" would root out the union shop. It is this latter danger which most worries labor.

Partly as a result of the McClellan Commitee's disclosures, the "right-to-work" drive has been given new momentum. Its proponents argue that eliminating the union shop will free workers from dependence on labor racketeers and force union leaders to be more responsive to the wishes of the rank and file. Having endorsed the right-to-work law in his own state of Arkansas, Senator McClellan last week warned a national law "may be necessary."

The state legislatures of Delaware, Maryland, Kansas, Connecticut, Idaho, New Mexico, Vermont, West Virginia and Ohio are presently considering right-to-work laws. A bill to prohibit the union shop was recently passed in Indiana—the most industrialized state yet to adopt this measure. "Little McClellan" probes may sprout in state after state. Whatever chances labor might have had for a sensible revision of the Taft-Hartley law during this session of Congress will fade. For from here on, labor will be afraid to press for revision, lest some of these damaging proposals be tacked on as amendments.

The more truth about how unions conduct their affairs, the better. But the pivotal question to which we shall be returning is: how can Congress assist honest labor leadership clean house, rather than assisting the incendiaries who would like to burn the house down?

Black and White Dominos

ON A Saturday before its deadline on the Rev. M. L. King Jr. cover story, *Time* telephoned Montgomery to have a photographer sent to one of the local buses so that *Time* readers could see what mobile integration looked like. The photographs were never used: they showed that the buses were substantially segregated.

The fact is that for a variety of reasons (some imposed, some willful, some subconscious), the Negro community in Montgomery is now more segregated than it was before the protest against bus segregation began. A recent ordinance of the City Commission has codified some prescribed conduct which previously was uncodified:

> It shall be unlawful for white and colored persons to play together or, in company with each other, in the City of Montgomery and within its police jurisdiction, in any game of cards, dice, dominos, checkers, pool, billiards, softball, basketball, baseball, golf, track, and at swimming pools, beaches, lakes, or ponds or any other game or games or athletic contest or contests, either indoors or outdoors.

While there is no official record of inter-racial domino-playing, there had been Minor League baseball games in Montgomery between teams with Negro players.

When the ice show came to Montgomery the year before the protest began, an entire side of the Coliseum was occupied by Negroes. This year, on opening night, the management set aside five "For Colored" rows and three of them were roped-off in anticipation of a small Negro attendance. As it turned out, the audience consisted of 17,000 whites and five Negroes. The man who is both Secretary of the local NAACP chapter (or at least was until the organization was outlawed in Alabama) explains it this way: "We're smart enough to know that the race-riots—like the one I saw in Detroit—start when the races intermingle; so we don't."

The result, but clearly not the intention, of this newly

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acquired attitude is a new kind of self-imposed segregation. For instance, the Montgomery Improvement Association which started out as the co-ordinator of the segregated bus protest is being expanded to include a Credit Union. The Director of this project, Rev. Harold Clement, says the Union will "encourage thrift," but it is also a means for making "available loans when necessary without the borrower having to go to unscrupulous money-lenders [white] who charge exorbitant interest."

Perhaps it would be fairer to describe this trend as independence of, rather than segregation from, the white community. But the head of the Pullman Porters Local in Montgomery says: "You just don't get a Negro who has been kicked around for a period of years to sit beside a white man; you just don't walk into these things overnight." And one of the bus boycotters explains:

> When we first started getting back on the buses I sat up in the front, but then I began sitting in the back—I wasn't afraid or nothing: it's just that I was accustomed to it.

Our Gifted Children

ONE THING our recent correspondence has proved: the debate over the kind of education our children are receiving is a national debate and one that arouses intense passion. *The New Republic* has pointed out that not only can the nation as a whole afford to spend considerably more money on education, but that if we do not it will shortly be impossible to give even minimum skills to our rapidly increasing number of children.

But critics of the "educationists," such as Professor Arthur Bestor, maintain that we face not only a quantitative problem—lack of sufficient teachers, classrooms, books, etc.—but also a qualitative problem. Professor Bestor has suggested that most lower grade education is not providing adequate discipline in the basic areas of knowledge. In particular, he and others have urged that more attention be given to developing the potentialities of the gifted child.

In this connection some remarks last month before the 12th annual meeting of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development made by Earl G. Herminghaus, curriculum Laboratory Research consultant to the St. Louis Board of Education, are of interest. Mr. Herminghaus, incidentally, considers that many critics of our present system are helping to destroy public confidence at a time when public school educators are grappling with problems of desperate urgency. Still, he asks "is there any reason why equality of opportunity for all should mean mediocrity?"

Many of our states, he observes, "are generally committed to a policy of special education for retarded children."—

> This policy is based on the concept that it is the responsibility of the democratic school system to provide for the special needs of these children. Is it any less democratic to provide special means for meeting the needs of the superior child? There are about 33 million school children in this country. It has been estimated that from one to two percent of them have an intelligence quotient of 130 or above. That would

FROM THE

Congressional Record

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27, 1957

Housing the Mexican Workers

MR. GATHINGS. Mr. Chairman, in January of this year the Labor Department presented some new Mexican housing regulations. . . . They issued these regulations solely and exclusively to get more personnel on the payroll. . . . The amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota would strike out the 35 additional compliance fieldmen to be used largely to enforce these new regulations on housing.

MR. FOGARTY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

MR. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

MR. FOGARTY. I yield.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I was interested in the remarks of my good friend and neighbor the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. Gathings]. Do I understand that at the present time there is a [Labor Department] regulation that would require a space 5½ feet by 6 feet or 5½ by 5 for each person in these houses?

MR. FOGARTY. Five by six and three-quarters feet.

MR. HOLIFIELD. It seems to me that is an unusual amount of space for a human being to live in. I think the gentleman has stated quite a point here. Does that give the person a chance to stand up or sit down in a chair or lie down on a bed?

MR. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

MR. FOGARTY. I yield.

MR. HOFFMAN. It is all right for our friend the gentleman from California [Mr. Holifield] to talk that way, but let me tell you something about what actually happens. . . . Many of these people who come up into our country to work during the summertime never had a roof over them at all until they came. They have lived out of doors.

MR. HOLIFIELD. Why not take the roof off if it bothers them?

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mean that, using intelligence quotient as a measure of ability, there are in school now from 300 to 600 thousand individuals whose contribution to society can be tremendous. And the complex nature of our society is becoming more and more dependent upon the talents of such persons.

There is nothing so unequal as the equal treatment of unequals.

The Right of Exodus

ALMOST 200,000 refugees have left Hungary since last October, and the free world is honoring the age-old right of asylum by absorbing most of them. But to be effective, the right of asylum rests on a prior assumption: the right of exodus. The right of asylum has enjoyed the sanction of international law since ancient times and has been incorporated into countless legal documents. The *right to seek asylum*—on which asylum depends—does not appear in writing anywhere because it has always been taken for granted. Nations have been only too eager to divest themselves of the presence of dissident groups.

After World War II, however, the Soviet Government —for primarily punitive reasons—enforced a policy of compulsory repatriation of anti-Soviet elements from the West. And since 1945 the Iron Curtain has come to signify the denial of the right freely to leave one's country.

The current strictures against escape from Hungary are only the latest and most publicized example of this general policy. Now the Hungarian Government has begun to seal its Austrian border, making escape increasingly difficult and dangerous. The borders are being mined, patrols are machine-gunning refugees without warning and even following them into Austrian territory to kill them. "There is no place like home—provided one is not forced to stay there," is an example of the wry kind of humor filtering out of Budapest. The Hungarian people steel themselves to "suffer the insufferable and support the insupportable."

The time has come, it seems to us, to formalize the right of exodus. That right should be appended to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and should be included in the Covenants on Human Rights which are still in the drafting stages in the United Nations. It should also be incorporated into all international legal documents guaranteeing fundamental human rights.

We recognize the probability that the Soviet bloc would oppose such a move in the UN (and not only the Soviet bloc, but perhaps Senator Knowland as well)—on the grounds that it is an infringement of national sovereignty. But should the Soviets oppose the legal right of exodus, would that not be interpreted by world opinion as a determination by the Soviet Union and its satellites to keep their populations as virtual prisoners?

American sponsorship of the legal right of exodus, on the other hand, could give us a psychological initiative of considerable value. Nor need Soviet opposition defeat this proposal since it would come under the jurisdiction of the UN Human Rights Commission rather than the Security Council: the veto would not apply. A majority for such a resolution should not be difficult to muster.

Cigarettes and Cancer

LAST WEEK this magazine noted the report of seven distinguished scientists who found that cigarette smoking and lung cancer are closely associated. Our comment concluded:

> If government and private agencies now decide to launch a publicity campaign on the health hazards of smoking, as *The New Republic* believes they should, the educational effort will not be accepted passively by an industry with a billion dollars a year in sales, and contributing through its advertising budget as much as any other industry to the support of American television, radio, newspapers, and the entertainment world.

Two days later the *New York Times* reported that an interview with one of the seven scientists, Mr. David M. Spain, had been cancelled at the last minute by the NBC television program "Close-up," conducted by Tex and Jinx McCrary. Dr. Spain was told only that arrangements had "run into a snag."

By-passing Suez—III

"NASSER FEVER" was what finally drove France, Belgium, Luxemburg, Holland, West Germany and Italy to pool their atomic research and to speed up plans for atomic power. It has also brought Britain to the brink of associating herself with this endeavor.

When the six European nations signed a treaty in late March to establish the international atomic development scheme called Euratom, the search for a long-range alternative to dependence on Egypt and the canal was one incentive. The Euratom alternative—reliance on atomic power—is real enough but appreciable results are 20 years away.

Three emissaries of Euratom who visited the US in January laid before our State Department the blueprint for atomic power development which is expected to add three million kilowatts of atomic power capacity to Western Europe each year (as of 1962), and a total of 15 million kilowatts within a decade. This atomic power could replace 30 million tons of oil, an amount equal to one-fourth of the oil Europe was importing when the Suez Canal was closed.

But this sounds more promising than it is, because Europe's enormous appetite for electric power will not remain the same during the next decade. Since World War II Europe's electric consumption has grown more

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than four percent a year, and in the decade ahead it is expected to rise three percent a year. Thus the infant atomic industry—if the plans of its European sponsors prove correct—will continue to lag behind even the power consumption of Europe for the next ten years. In other words, Europe's dependence upon foreign oil—and for practical purposes that means Middle East oil—will be greater in 1967 than it is today. Even for the decade 1967-77 the growing atomic industry is expected to offset only the annual increase in Europe's power needs.

Britain today leads the world in peaceful atomic development. It placed its first 60,000 kilowatt reactor in commercial operation last October 17, and its target date for completion of 12 big plants is 1965. These would produce six million kilowatts of power—a one-quarter of Britain's estimated needs as of that time. No other nation of Western Europe has yet begun construction of a commercial atomic plant, though France hopes to produce its first plant by 1960, and to complete one big plant a year thereafter.

The Euratom target is 15 million kilowatts by 1967. It won't be easily reached. First, atomic power stations cost three times as much initially as conventional power plants fuelled by coal or oil. Thus Europe will need enormous credits from the International Bank or from the atomic manufacturers—American and British. Second, no satisfactory insurance plan has been worked out to protect these plants, and until one is devised, the loans will not be forthcoming. Third, nobody yet knows how to dispose of the radioactive wastes which will accumulate in a frightening quantity as commercial reactors are refuelled.

On this last point President Laurence Snyder of the American Association for the Advancement of Science recently estimated in an address that

> . . . within 25 years there will be an accumulation of

The Eisenhower Approach—McCarthy & Nasser

ONE way to understand the Eisenhower Administration's approach to the Problem of Nasser is to recall its approach to the Problem of McCarthy.

From the beginning, Mr. Eisenhower's decision was that McCarthyism should be "absorbed." This meant that there was to be no clash with the Senator or his fellow extremists in Congress and the Republican Party. No clash, in turn, meant retreating whenever necessary to avoid a clash. In fact, it meant appeasement.

The result of this policy was that, in the first two years of the Eisenhower Administration, Senator McCarthy gained control of a large part of the Executive branch, simply taking it away from the President. Personnel in the United States Information Agency and the State Department, for example, became subjects of McCarthy or of those who associated themselves with him. The power which this gave the Senator extended, naturally, beyond personnel to government policy.

The consequent price which had to be paid in the process of "absorbing" McCarthyism was heavy. The American Foreign Service was disrupted and demoralized. A large number of its most distinguished members, like John Paton Davies, were sacrificed to McCarthy and his forces. The team of Cohn & Schine was allowed to travel abroad, discrediting the United States and embarrassing its foreign relations.

But the fact is that the Eisenhower approach succeeded in this case. At least the claim that it did can be supported. Public opinion finally became disgusted with McCarthyism of its own accord. Ultimately the problem, if not the gentleman himself, was absorbed. It is a matter of anybody's judgment whether it was or was not necessary to pay the price which had, by then, been paid.

President Nasser now appears on the international scene in much the same role that Senator McCarthy played on the domestic scene. From where the Eisenhower Administration sits the problem must seem similar. Here is a man who accepts no limits, a man who is constantly extending his power, a man who threatens to disrupt the international order. Under the circumstances, one might expect the Eisenhower Administration to manifest the same psychological reaction that it did to the earlier threat. The Problem of Nasser must be "absorbed." This means that a clash with him must be avoided. This, in turn, means some inevitable appeasement. Perhaps Israel has to be sacrificed as John Davies was sacrificed. Perhaps our own friends and supporters have to be put at Nasser's mercy in the Suez business. Eventually, however, Mr. Nasser will go the way of all demagogues.

This approach to the problem—what we may call "the Eisenhower approach"—has considerable advantages. But it also has heavy disadvantages. There is not only the price you pay in the process of "absorption," there is the danger that in paying the price you will strengthen your opponent to the point where he "absorbs" you.

If the parallel drawn above is correct, then we are all going to have to hold our breath again, as we did while McCarthy had his day.

LOUIS J. HALLE

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some 200 million gallons of waste, and within 50 years more than two billion gallons. By that time we shall be faced with the safe disposal of more than a million gallons a day.

American manufacturers will enter the European boom market for atomic reactors under a political handicap, for the only reactors presently designed in the US must utilize enriched uranium. Thus any country which now buys a reactor from us is tied to the US permanently for fuel; we are the only supplier of enriched fuel, and no other nation is likely to duplicate our multi-billion dollar fuel plants.

The British, by contrast, have fuelled their Calder Hall power plant, and all projected plants, with natural uranium, a product which most European nations can shortly expect to make for themselves. Westinghouse recently negotiated reactor sales with Belgium and Italy, but the two countries have backed away from the contracts because of this fuel problem.

The Atomic Energy Commission has tried to promote sales by offering fuel supply contracts for 10 years or more, and cutting the price of enriched uranium from $25 to $16 a gram. But this will not solve the problem for countries which do not relish political dependence on America. The AEC has now contracted with Dupont to authorize the Government to subsidize the sale of American reactors to Europe, paying one half the difference in price between an atomic and a conventional plant.

But all these are details—as Europeans see them—in the larger strategy of reducing Europe's dependence on President Nasser and his Syrian ally. From our view of the possibilities of meeting Europe's energy requirements while by-passing Suez we were led to these conclusions:

- that no plan today, at any price, would enable the West to boycott the Suez Canal altogether.
- that within five years new Middle East pipelines and new super-tankers circling Africa could supply Europe with half its oil imports, without reference to Egypt and Syria, if necessary.
- that within 10 years, if French geologists prove correct, the newly discovered oil field in the Algerian Sahara could supply Europe with a quarter of the fuels it must import.
- that within 20 years atomic power could begin to reduce Europe's dependence upon imported oil and provide at least the hope that Europe might be freed from Middle East blackmail threats.
- But for the next 20 years, which is to say the lifetime of today's statesmen, fuel for Europe and peace for the world will rest uneasily upon some kind of working compromise between the West—seeking to defend its legitimate commerce—and the new nations of Asia and Africa which desire both political recognition and economic growth.

WHO WILL HELP EGYPT AND JORDAN?

EGYPT and Jordan are the countries it will be most interesting to watch, as the special mission headed by former Representative James P. Richards begins its two-month task of selling the Eisenhower Doctrine to the Middle East. In both countries there is a constricting scarcity of dollars and pounds sterling. There is, at the same time, Egypt's sharply increasing trade with the Soviet bloc and Jordan's tendency in the same direction.

Foreign-exchange difficulties are what may pull these two countries farther into the Soviet camp or, if Western diplomacy is supremely skillful, perhaps persuade them to be more co-operative.

Egypt already is deep into commercial relations with the Soviet Union and its satellites. A by-product has been growing Soviet cultural, technical and military influence in Egypt. A Russian trade fair in Cairo last month drew huge crowds, and the accompanying Soviet technicians filled several Cairo hotels. Jordan, still in precarious balance after breaking off its treaty of economic and military assistance with Britain could tip toward the side chosen by Egypt. A measure of what has happened is to be found in the foreign-trade figures for 1956. Egypt's exports to the Soviet bloc were 33 percent of its total exports last year, compared to 27 percent in 1955 and only 14 percent in 1954.

Exports were especially heavy to Czechoslovakia, which jumped to first place among recipients of Egyptian goods. Czechoslovakia stood fourth in 1955 and eighth in 1954.

Still more important is the lopsided balance of imports and exports. Egypt's total imports were $129 million more than its total exports last year. But the published figures show that the balance was in the other direction with respect to the Soviet bloc—an excess of $63 million in exports over imports. It should be noted that the published figures do not include the Czech arms obtained by Egypt through the deal announced in September, 1955, by Nasser. Great uncertainty as to the quantity, value and price of the Czech arms exists, but well-informed persons in Cairo believe they fall far short of using up the credits

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Egypt is amassing in the Soviet bloc through cotton sales.

There is a popular explanation for Egypt's changing trade pattern which says Egypt has mortgaged its future cotton exports to pay for the Communist arms. Well-informed economists and bankers in Cairo say this is a myth. They argue that it puts the cart before the horse. They contend that Egypt's one-crop economy was upset in early 1955 by indications that the US soon would begin dumping its surplus cotton on the world market. Buyers anticipated a price drop and began purchasing on a day-to-day basis. Communist-bloc countries took advantage of the sudden slack and unsettled market and stepped in with long-term agreements to buy Egyptian cotton in return for industrial plants and other capital goods.

Actual dumping later forced the market down still further. Egypt, having turned to the Soviet bloc to sell cotton, announced a five-year development plan aimed partly at absorbing credits being built up in the Communist countries.

The trade figures, which show Egypt had an excess of exports amounting to $63 million to the East bloc last year, reveal an unfavorable trade balance of $192 million with countries outside the Soviet orbit. Thus, Egypt's situation, in a nutshell, is one of selling more and more to the East, but continuing to buy heavily from the West. Russia supplies oil and wheat, but many other items must continue to come from the West, notably machinery, electrical equipment and pharmaceuticals.

As for Jordan, it had only a bare prospect of holding its own against its growing population, even with the $32 million-a-year British subsidy that had been making up 50 to 60 percent of the Jordanian budget. All but $4 million of this subsidy, an amount earmarked for development projects, was cut off with termination of the Anglo-Jordanian treaty.

A Saudi Arabian-Egyptian-Syrian offer of a $35 million annual subsidy to take the place of the British assistance could have one unexpected effect. Since Egypt can hardly spare the dollars for its $14 million share, but since Egypt does have a mass of credits in the Soviet bloc, it appears probable that the Egyptian aid will take the form of a big gift purchase order payable in Russia, Czechoslovakia or Communist China. Jordan's leftist Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Abdulla Rimawi, may have been anticipating just this when he told a press conference recently: "Jordan will be getting Arab money and rubles under the Arab Solidarity Agreement."

There was a slight upturn last year in Jordan's imports from the Soviet Union, but even with the increase these amounted to something less than $4 million of an import total of $78 million. But a transfer of East bloc credits from Egypt to Jordan could treble or quadruple imports from the Soviet bloc.

In this situation, the US has several strong cards in its hand, some of which may already have been misplayed.

One card is our control over about $40 million in blocked Egyptian funds in the United States. Egyptian officials complain that this restriction is grossly unfair and have asked repeatedly that it be relaxed. Some critics say the US undercut its own position when it agreed to two loans of $15 million each to Egypt from the International Monetary Fund, both granted after the Egyptian seizure of the Suez Canal. The first, equal to Egypt's gold contribution to the fund, could hardly have been refused and was approved more or less automatically. But Britain, France, Australia and The Netherlands showed their disapproval of the second by abstaining from the vote.

Our government also had the power to refuse or grant the sale of 400,000 tons of surplus wheat, which Egypt sought to buy with Egyptian currency. We rejected the proposal two months ago, and Russia supplied the wheat.

Nasser no doubt hopes for a continuation of the CARE program, now suspended, under which $40 million worth of surplus food was distributed to needy Egyptians last year. Egyptian officials last summer asked for a $135 million program in 1957, to feed nearly 5 million Egyptians a day. But neither Egypt nor the State Department has had anything to say about this request in recent months.

Above all, the US relies on economic aid as a means of deflating anti-Americanism in Egypt and Jordan. Egypt, with Radio Cairo attacking the Eisenhower Doctrine as a new form of imperialism, has not said what, if anything, it wants in the way of economic aid under the new doctrine.

Jordan, however, presented a detailed request last January for about $40 million in aid. The present level is about $7 million a year. Jordan also presented a draft of a remarkable proposed new agreement that would require the US to deposit aid funds in a bank of Jordan's choosing and then have nothing to say about how the funds were spent. Under the proposal, we would not even have authority to send advisers to Jordan—unless the Jordanian Government approved the individual advisers.

The State Department does not take this proposal seriously and makes much of the fact that the documents were handed to the Point Four director in Amman rather than to our Ambassador. Privately, an official in Washington suggested that the proposal was a "gimmick" put forth during the Arab subsidy negotiations in hopes of eliciting more favorable terms. Jordan may only have been using the traditional method of the bazaar, where a proposition is made through a broker so that neither side will lose face in subsequent dickering.

RICHARD DUDMAN

RICHARD DUDMAN, *a reporter for the* St. Louis Post-Dispatch, *has just returned from a seven-week tour of six Middle Eastern countries.*

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The Superficial Aspect

Let Dag Do It

THE newspapers have printed a large number of words about the Bermuda Conference. That is a certainty, and it is perhaps the only certainty emerging from the Conference.

One other is widely, but wrongly, accepted. It is not a certainty that the words mean nothing, as many earnest souls believe. It is possible, indeed it is probable, that they mean that the high contracting parties intended to be loquacious without saying anything, for as Voltaire observed long ago, speech is a very effective means of concealing thought.

The question then is, what thought could be conveniently concealed by a spate of words proclaiming that the United States and Great Britain stand shoulder to shoulder in solid opposition to death, hell and the grave? The obvious answer is the thought of those issues on which they do not stand together. The issue uppermost in people's minds as the conference began was the situation in the Middle East. The communique is eloquent until it comes to this point, but "the rest is silence."

Thus the significant result of the conference is that the United States has not assumed responsibility for anything whatsoever. This is a diplomatic triumph for Eisenhower and Dulles, but for Eisenhower rather than for Dulles. It is the President, not the Secretary of State, who has proved himself the greatest exponent of inaction since Coolidge, one who could indeed give James Mackintosh himself lessons on the effective exploitation of "masterly inactivity."

The policy of the United States in the Middle East thus far has been consistent. It is simply to object to everything that anybody but Dag Hammerskjold does. We objected to Nasser's purchase of arms from a Communist satellite. We objected to British retention of the Suez Canal. We objected to Nasser's seizure of Canal tolls, and we certainly did not approve of his practice of sending hostile war parties from Gaza to murder, pillage and burn in Israel. But we also objected when the British and French tried to throw Colonel Nasser out of the Suez and when Israel did throw him out of the Gaza Strip.

Throughout we have adhered firmly to one principle, to wit, "Let Hammerskjold do it." The fact that Hammerskjold's activities are subject to the veto of Soviet Russia we chose to dismiss as irrelevant; as long as he is responsible for policy in the Middle East, the responsibility does not lie upon us. Yet as long as he is Secretary of the United Nations he is necessarily the representative of the Communists as much as of the free nations. In other words, policy in the Middle East is not to be democratic policy, but the result of an agreement between democracy and Communism.

This may be a questionable method, but at least it is logical and consistent. The self-contradiction enters when this method is proposed by a nation that regards itself as a leader, if not *the* leader of the free world. In the very nature of things leadership implies responsibility. An irresponsible man or nation cannot be a leader, and for one to pose as such is simply an affront to intelligence.

Yet Mr. Eisenhower has not by word or act suggested that he thinks the United States should renounce leadership of the free nations. After all, to resign is to act, which would conflict with Mr. Eisenhower's policy of inaction: even in this matter he prefers to let things take their course, trusting that in the end they will readjust themselves.

There is something to be said for it. Napoleon once directed his secretary, Bourrienne, to leave all letters unopened for three weeks and then he would find that most of them had answered themselves. If the Middle East will eventually straighten itself out, without our assuming responsibility for anything, that will be fine. But suppose it doesn't?

This question, like Hamlet's "in that sleep of death what dreams may come," simply will not down, and "must give us pause." If there is a real divergence between Communism and democracy, any consistent policy developed by the free nations must be disadvantageous to the Communist nations, and *vice versa.* It is plain enough that Soviet policy is to keep the Middle East in turmoil, thereby constantly threatening the oil supply of Western Europe. One would think, therefore, that our policy should be to restore order and stability by any means that promises to be effective.

BUT effective intervention would conflict with the principle of throwing the responsibility on Hammerskjold. "A principle," said F. M. Cornford, "is a rule of inaction giving valid general rules for not doing in a specific case what to unprincipled instinct would seem to be right." The President appears to be a disciple of Cornford in this respect. If that is the real meaning of the talk issuing from the Bermuda Conference it is significant. But what satisfaction Americans can derive from its significance is not immediately apparent.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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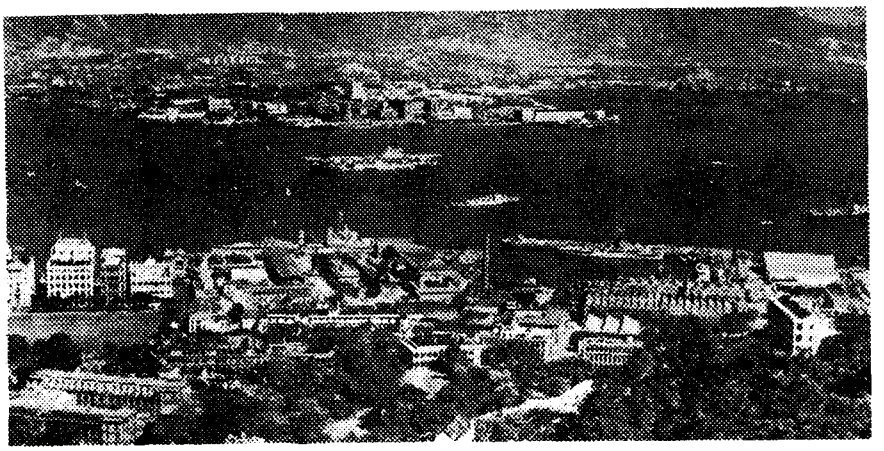

The Hong Kong Outpost

What Can a Correspondent Learn About Red China, If He Gets His News 1200 Miles from Peking?

by GUY SEARLS

A STRANGE twist to the State Department's refusal to allow American newsmen to visit Communist China is that it forces American news agencies into greater dependency on Communist propaganda agencies. I do not mean that American correspondents covering China from the sanctuary of the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong—as I do—have, or will, allow themselves to be turned into Communist propaganda agents. I do mean that American correspondents can obtain certain types of news only when and as the Communists choose to dish it out—through Peking Radio, the official Hsinhua (New China) News Agency, or any of a number of pamphlets, newspapers or magazines avaliable in Hong Kong. To give a recent example:

The last time Chairman Mao Tse-tung gave a major policy speech was on Feburary 27—but for some reason, the Chinese Communist have not seen fit to publish either the text or a summary. However, David "China" Chipp, the British Reuter's News Agency correspondent in Peking, managed to glean enough information from other sources in Peking to report that the speech contained a 12-point directive covering almost every field of Chinese affairs. Chipp was even able to go into detail on some of the points. I gather that Chipp pieced together his report on the Mao speech by gathering bits and scraps of information from local newspapers. For even though the Chinese have chosen not to publicize the Mao speech, they cannot carry out his directives without some reference to it in announcing subsequent policies *inside* China. Even though Hsinhua News Agency and Peking Radio have carefully avoided any mention of these references to the outside world, the Peking newspapers, which are published primarily for the people in China, cannot avoid them. Hence, Chipp in Peking got his story for British Reuters—the American agencies were left out.

If Chipp restricted his newspaper researching in Peking to only six particular papers—then we American correspondents in Hong Kong would still have a chance of belatedly catching up with him, for there are six Chinese newspapers the Communists allow to be distributed outside the China mainland. Fortunately, they are the most important papers printed in Communist China and do contain almost all of the major policy pronouncements of the Peking Government. Yet there are known to be approximately 136 newspapers printed in the People's Republic of China which cannot be exported. Those papers carry a vast amount of information available in

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China, but from which we Americans here in Hong Kong are cut off.

News seldom breaks in Communist China the way it does other places. Instead, it develops. And it is only through constant reading and research through current Chinese Communist materials that a correspondent in or out of China can ferret out and piece together the nature of developments.

The man on the outside can do a good job, sometimes an excellent job, but he is faced with one especially aggravating situation: his reports will never be given the credence of those written by a man on the scene. One can imagine what little authority would be given to the writings of a Frenchman, for instance, who might decide to go to Mexico City instead of Washington, D. C., to report on the Eisenhower Administration. Even if the Frenchman in Mexico City equipped himself with all major American newspapers and national publications, along with copies of all government directives and the *Congressional Record* — his reports would still be belittled.

There are occasions, I grant, when the correspondent in Hong Kong has the advantage over the correspondent in Peking. Each year hundreds of thousands of Chinese travel back and forth between Hong Kong and the China mainland, and the reports they bring out frequently concern events which Peking officially has ignored and the resident correspondent hasn't seen.

To illustrate, reports of the 1954 floods, which were the worst in China's history, reached Hong Kong long before they were mentioned publicly by any official Communist China agency. A number of European correspondents visited the China mainland in 1954, but none of them traveled through the flood areas until weeks after the story broke through Hong Kong.

Many other examples could be given. The fact, though, that correspondents can sometimes get information in Hong Kong which is not available in Communist China itself can hardly be used as an excuse for not going to the well for water. Moreover, the idea of attacking a news situation from one side only is hardly in keeping with American journalistic traditions.

I HAVE found that frequently it is the "feel" of a situation that someone like myself—based in Hong Kong —most misses. And that can be important. For instance, early last year, the Chinese Communists were making a tremendous drive toward socializing the entire country, during which they put almost all peasants into co-operatives or collectives, and took control of virtually all commerce and industry still in private hands. Hsinhua News Agency reported the events in detail, along with accounts of Shanghai capitalists celebrating their changeover from being members of the bourgeoisie to becoming members of the proletariat.

But a Swiss correspondent who happened to be in Shanghai at the time later told me of having watched one of the "enthusiastic celebration meetings" reported by the Communists. Instead of enthusiasm, my Swiss friend reported that one of the ex-capitalists sitting on the speakers' platform was so bored that he fell sound asleep; another resigned participant was more intent on adjusting his bridgework than he was in celebrating.

While the Swiss correspondent was seeing for himself in Shanghai, we American correspondents in Hong Kong were having to rely exclusively on the carefully doctored reports of the Hsinhua News Agency.

FURTHER, there are a number of things in Communist China which are of interest and importance to the American public which go uncovered altogether, because European correspondents visiting China aren't particularly interested in the American angle—unless they have been hired specifically by American news agencies to pursue such angles. There are, for instance, a number of Americans still living in Communist China who are not in jail. They are fairly well divided into three groups: the first group includes the missionaries who are still trying to spread Christianity among the Chinese. Then there is a larger group which sympathizes with the present regime. And finally, there are the remaining turncoats from the Korean War—former members of the American forces who were captured during the war and who refused repatriation home at the end of hostilities.

Interviews with any of these Americans behind the bamboo curtain would be of interest to the American public. And since the State Department says that the current US diplomatic negotiations with the Peking regime hinge largely on the fate of other Americans held in prison by the Chinese, it is additionally frustrating to be unable to go to the mainland to at least try gathering first-hand news about them.

The status of American institutions which have fallen into Communist hands is also of special interest. And what has happened to American-trained technicians? One could go on for days hunting for answers to questions not covered by the routine propaganda output of the Communists.

There is another obvious gap in the American coverage of Communist China which cannot be bridged from Hong Kong: pictures. Not only ordinary still pictures but television pictures.

It is supposed to have been the Chinese who originated the saying that one picture is worth a thousand words. And today, it is probably the American news agencies which put the greatest stress on pictures. Visual coverage of news has become even more important in the United States since the advent of television. But you can't take a picture of something if you are out of camera range, and the camera lens which will span 1,200 miles from Hong Kong to Peking is still to be invented. There are lots of pictures to be had in Communist China—but we

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aren't getting them because we can't go after them.

Is there any reason why the American public should not be allowed to watch the thunderous National Day celebrations in Peking which are reminiscent of the worshipful panoplies Stalin once produced to glorify himself in Russia? Why can't Americans take a look at Communist China's new developments such as their motor truck plant or the new double-decked Yangtze River bridge?

ACCORDING to the State Department, the answer to "why not" is that the Chinese Communist have connected the issue of American correspondents visiting China with the release of the nine remaining Americans held in Communist China prisons. To be more specific, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said at his February 5 news conference:

> As you know, of course, the Chinese Communist Government has for some time been trying to get reporters —preferably those it picked—to come into Communist China and it has repeatedly tried to use the illegal detention of Americans in Communist China as a means of pressure to accomplish its ends in that respect.

The Secretary of State specifies two points: (1) that the Chinese Communists have hand-picked the correspondents it will let in, and (2) that they have used the imprisonment of Americans as a pressure or bargaining point in order to get the United States to relax the ban on travel to Communist China.

Regarding point one: As far as I have been able to find out, only one (Marquis Childs) of the 32 American correspondents who have been offered visas to Communist China did not ask for it in advance. These correspondents represent every major American news agency, the bigger radio and television networks, the major American news magazines and the most influential American newspapers. The list includes some very strong anti-Communists and men with exceptional backgrounds for covering the China scene. Some of these men are much more qualified for covering a Communist country than some of the non-American correspondents whose stories have been carried in US publications by default.

Since the Communists, for the most part, have merely granted visas as requested by American newsmen and news organizations, it seems a little difficult to understand Secretary Dulles' charge that the Reds have hand-picked those they will let in. If one wanted to argue against the State Department on this point, it would be interesting to try to get the State Department to explain away *its* selective policies of issuing visas for entry into the US.

The purpose of this article is not to argue, however, but to examine.

About point two: The United States Government has been unfortunately secretive about what has been going on behind the closed doors of the Sino-American ambassadorial talks at Geneva. But from the Communist releases concerning the talks, there has never been any indication that the Communists have offered the release of American prisoners as a bargaining point for obtaining the admission of American newsmen.

From Communist accounts (Hsinhua News Releases, October, 1956, item 101621, page X 162) the closest they came to mentioning the correspondent situation was in a proposal they made aimed at a general relaxation of contacts between the two countries. This proposal, which was offered on September 22, 1956—a month after the newsmen were offered visas—did not specifically mention news correspondents. It read:

> In order to promote mutual understanding between the peoples of China and the United States,
>
> In order to resume the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and the United States,
>
> Ambassador Wang Ping-nan, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, and Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson, on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, agree to announce:
>
> The People's Republic of China and the United States of America will adopt measures respectively on their own initiative to eliminate the existing barriers interfering with the freedom of mutual contacts and cultural exchange between the peoples of their two countries.

The nearest it comes to offering a bargain is to eliminate barriers to "mutual contacts and cultural exchange" if the United States will do the same. According to the Communist version of the meeting, Ambassador Johnson refused to discuss the proposal.

WILLIAM WORTHY, the *Afro-American* correspondent who was among those who recently violated the State Department ban and went to Communist China and whose account *The New Republic* published two weeks ago, reported that he specifically asked Premier Chou En-lai if there had been any connection made by the Communists between the prisoner issue and the visa issue. Chou, according to Worthy, denied the two issues had ever been connected. This isn't the first time that the Communist Chinese and the American versions of a given situation have been vastly different. Fortunately, in most situations the issues are clearer and it is easier to determine whether the Communists speak the truth.

But until we get a better flow of information about Chinese Communist events, both internal and external, the problem of covering Communist China is going to remain confused. My own feeling is that American correspondents are a tenacious and ingenious crew. They have often badgered important news out of reticent officials in Washington as well as other world capitals. Many of us would love to have at least a chance to go to work on the officials in Peking.

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The Intellectual: Will He Wither Away?

by MERLE KLING

IN ACCEPTING the Republican nomination to campaign for the Presidency a second time, Mr. Eisenhower, at the risk of blurring his stereotyped public image of conventionality, indulged in a rare literary reference and quoted Henrik Ibsen's letter of January 3, 1882, to George Brandes: "I hold that that man is in the right who is most closely in league with the future." With this phrase Mr. Eisenhower, deliberately or accidentally, assumed the historically-sanctioned ethical posture of intellectuals. For intellectuals traditionally have rationalized and justified their vagaries precisely on the grounds that they were "in league with the future." Vilified for their beliefs or ridiculed for their literary and artistic innovations, intellectuals, like the devoutly religious who are confident of their rewards in the Kingdom of Heaven, have maintained faith in the "proof" of history.

Now the irony of this is that while Mr. Eisenhower associates himself with those "in league with the future," the contemporary intellectual has lost his claim on the future. It is my thesis (and one contrary to that which has been advanced in these pages recently) that the intellectual is isolated from the main currents of social change, and that he is incapable of comprehending or interpreting present directions of change. His predictions in the past were not always right, but they were plausible. Today, thanks to the wholly unprecedented transformations wrought by science and technology, he lacks the most elementary and indispensable prerequisites for making "league with the future."

When I conclude that the hook of intellectuals into the future has slipped, I of course employ the term "intellectuals" in a limited sense. I do not include the heterogeneous group of trained personnel, such as engineers, military officers, physicists and chemists, who are lumped together under the rubic *intelligentsia* by Soviet Communists. I am trying to identify primarily the conventional men of words who set themselves up as poets, philosophers, historians, teachers of literature—writers of what H. L. Mencken used to call beautiful letters, novelists, verbal interpreters of the social scene.

Let us take warfare and armed forces, for example. Need one be a literary scholar of medieval combat or a student of Tolstoy in order to appreciate the sources of inspiration which intellectuals have discovered on the battlefield? As late as World War I, perceptive intellectuals did not find the techniques of battle beyond their capacities for analysis and interpretation, as Hemingway, Barbusse, Remarque, Dos Passos and E. E. Cummings—to name only a few—convincingly demonstrated.

However, World War II already placed significant arenas of military combat beyond the range of the intellectual. The plain truth is that one of the best books about the American army published since World War II is about the peacetime, pre-Pearl Harbor army! I mean James Jones' *From Here to Eternity*. Such books as *The Naked and the Dead* and *The Young Lions* captured nothing of the technological novelty of World War II and might have been written with a World War I setting.

The gulf between contemporary warfare and the intellectual, I suggest, is unbridgeable. The intellectual cannot master the technical knowledge required to understand the conduct of warfare by means of atomic bombs, thermonuclear weapons and intercontinental ballistic missiles. In fact, his familiar moral and psychological categories—courage and cowardice, bravery and fear—have been extinguished by the nature of modern warfare. How does one conform to, or deviate from, a literary image of model military behavior when he kills his enemy by pouring the contents of one test tube into another test tube at a distance of more than 3,000 miles? Would William James advocate a moral equivalent for the atomic reactor today?

OR take industry and technology. The factory system and large-scale industry which superseded feudalism produced no insurmountable technical obstacles to imaginative, descriptive and analytical works by intellectuals. The 19th Century was densely populated with novelists, essayists, utopians, social philosophers, assorted reformers, self-proclaimed scientists of society, and visionaries who observed the new industrial society, confidently generalized its consequences and identified themselves with projects and doctrines they believed would supplant it.

During the first four decades of the 20th Century, the technology which spawned businessman and worker and research scientist still was not out of reach for the tenacious intellectual. Dreiser may have been as syntactically deficient as the literary critics insist, but he

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could perceive the American businessman beyond the boundaries of an executive suite. And as unsubtle as he may have been, Sinclair Lewis did not find it necessary to ignore the technical, professional, specialized problems of Doctor Arrowsmith.

We now squirm or sneer at the lack of sophistication in the so-called "proletarian literature" of the nineteen thirties. But the intellectual polemics of that decade, which from our current perspective appear as obtuse and remote as some of the medieval quarrels, nevertheless reflected an intensity of concern for identification with the future for which there is no counterpart in today's intellectual life. In committing themselves to the "cause" of the working class, the "proletarian writers" were certain that they were riding the wave of the future. The Trotskyites and the Socialists and the Communists and the Conservatives and the Fascists fought without quarter, because they assumed that there was a future which correctly-oriented intellectuals could inherit. If John Strachey, an ideological hero of the political Left, wrote a book called *The Coming Struggle for Power,* then Lawrence Dennis, the intellectual spokesman of the extreme Right, likewise couched his appeal in the language of the future: he called his book *The Coming American Fascism.*

But how can the intellectual cope with today's new industrial developments in their functional realities? He cannot even peer appreciatively over the shoulders of the growing army of scientists and engineers which the new technology has recruited and absorbed. His technical incompetence paralyzes his capacity for insight. As novelist, therefore, he ignores the dynamic economy which he cannot fathom and writes reminiscences of archaic politicians (*The Last Hurrah*), or toys with simplistic formulas of political behavior (*The Ninth Wave*), or reverts to the fringe world of vice and perversion (*A Walk on the Wild Side*), or ponders the ancient behavior of Chinese riverboat people (*A Single Pebble*).

OR glance at the state of academic life—if you can stand the sight of carnage. Professors of literature and philosophy virtually have abandoned the struggle to maintain a grip on the future. They can only gape in admiration and envy as the financial support rolls in for their colleagues in the natural sciences (who so conspicuously and unceremoniously shape the future). With their faith shaken in the durable significance of their subject matter, teachers of literature now grasp at the straw of administration to save them from sinking further into the sea of irrelevancy. They serve on committees; they occupy themselves with the sterile details of curriculum revision; they daydream of deanships. On the basis of firsthand experience, painfully acquired at the expense of a colossal waste of time, I can testify with assurance that professors of literature and philosophy are the most diligent committee workers on a university campus; and professors of physics are the least reliable committee members. A professor of Latin or English or French rarely misses a committee meeting; a professor of physics usually refuses membership on committees or, if drafted, fails to attend meetings.

Some of my colleagues expressed surprise at the appointment of Dr. Robert F. Goheen, an Assistant Professor of Classics, to the Presidency of Princeton University. To me, however, it seemed symbolically appropriate that an energetic and capable young classicist should turn to administration. For what outlet is there today for an ambitious classicist who wishes to escape premature retirement from the relevant world? Administrative busywork has been—if I may be forgiven the pun—the classic response of frustrated creativity.

AND what of social scientists? In a mood of hysteria and panic they cling to their semantic hold on science and thus hope to avoid the fate of colleagues in literature and philosophy. Confusing form for content, they assume that resort to the forms of the calculating machine, the questionnaire, the interview, and the quantified formula indeed will enable them to travel toward the future with the natural scientists and engineers rather than toward oblivion with their non-scientific colleagues. As a consequence, in intervals between plotting raids on philanthropic foundations, social scientists watch the IBM machines process their punch cards with the anxious fascination of superstitious customers awaiting the interpretation of a deck of playing cards by a wandering gypsy. Both social scientists and the gypsy's customers harbor the desperate hope against hope that the cards will spare them the fate of dreary irrelevance prescribed by the imperatives of their time.

Yet it should be acknowledged that economically, the intellectual is better fed, better housed and more elegantly pampered than ever before. Despite the post-World War II vogue for things Italian, no cult of exile (or exile's return), such as followed World War I, has developed. With his visions blocked by a massive wall of technology, science, mathematics and expertness which he is unable to penetrate, however, he stares blindly into the future and, with less complacency than Milton, can only stand and wait. Under the circumstances, it is fair to speculate that the role of the intellectual will come to resemble even more closely that of the archaeologist in our society. The archaeologist is not persecuted. He is subsidized, permitted to release his aggressions by spading ancient dirt, accorded token honors and courtesies, and—disregarded. Perhaps what Engels said of the state may be said of the intellectual: he will not be abolished; he will wither away. The intellectual is no longer a man without a country. But he may be a man without a future. And if he is not in league with the future, can he be right?

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Horatio Alger Hero of the Gold Coast

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

ON MARCH 6, 1957 the former British Colony of the Gold Coast, renamed Ghana in memory of an ancient empire to the north in what is now the French Sudan, took its place as the ninth British Commonwealth state. Dominating the festivities of Independence Day stood a proud figure, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, whose autobiography, entitled *Ghana*, was published concomitantly with the ceremonies.

The first half of *Ghana*, dealing with the period from the time Dr. Nkrumah was born in a primitive jungle village till his elevation to Leader of Government Business of the Gold Coast, is one of the most important sociological documents produced on the African continent. For the forces generated by modern nationalism and socialist doctrine are beginning to permeate the mass of men in tropical Africa and here we have a clear-cut original study of their influence on a leader who can be considered the foremost African statesman.

Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah (Nelson; $5).

Prime Minister Nkrumah is a political genius of such intuitive sense of flexibility and tactics that he puts to shame Mazzini and Kossuth. A monomaniac, with no interest in life but freedom for the Negroes of West Africa, the slogan he invented for his Convention People's Party, "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all things shall be added unto you," is the measure of his philosophy.

The pattern of the dedicated revolutionary is even more clear because Dr. Nkrumah is completely candid regarding his own impulses. He openly admits that food, women, money and religion have little interest for him. After avoiding the approaches of a girl in his youth, he states:

> I have never outgrown that feeling towards women. It is not fear today, but something deeper. Perhaps it is a dread of being trapped, of having my freedom taken away, or being in some way overpowered. And I have the same feeling about money and organized and obligatory religion. All three of them represent to my mind something that should play a very minor part in a man's life, for once any of them get the upper hand, man becomes a slave and his personality is crushed.

It has been claimed that Dr. Nkrumah was a Communist before attaining power, a view which the reading of his well-known pamphlet *Towards Colonial Freedom* seems to confirm. But the truth is simpler: starting as a believer in totalitarian organization, he moved closer and closer to democratic methods because they happened to fit the circumstances of the Gold Coast better. Doctrinal rigidity is alien to Nkrumah's nature. In the thirties he labeled himself an "orthodox Marxist," in the forties a "Marxian socialist" and in the early fifties a "Christian Marxist." Recently he has been pleading for free enterprise to enter the Gold Coast with the promise of tax privileges.

The main interest of *Ghana* lies in the personality of the author. Starting with his birth in a river village of the Gold Coast, he relates with warm humor the years of turmoil that resulted in his visit to America, a period which extended for ten years and included the acquisition of a Bachelor of Theology degree from Lincoln University and a Master of Arts degree in Philosophy from the University of Pennsylvania. Working on scholarships, in extreme penury, a natural tendency to see the world through the simplified lenses of radical dogma led him to leftish associations.

The young man was beginning to feel his strength and extended his circle to other Negro expatriates. The result was the formation of a group with the rather bombastic title of African Students' Association of America and Canada. In 1945 he left for London, where he soon was deeply involved in the work of the West African Students' Union and the Fifth Pan-African Congress.

It was just at this point that the moribund nationalist organization, the United Gold Coast Convention (to its eternal regret) invited Kwame Nkrumah to return home and become its general secretary. As we now know, the job had been offered to several other young nationalists, who turned it down because the position seemed of little value. Nkrumah, after some hesitation, accepted.

THE rest is history. In 1947, the Gold Coast had been considered a model British colony. Within months it was flaming with revolt from one end to the other. The United Gold Coast Convention, a party composed of lawyers and intellectuals, became so frightened by the increasingly radical course of events, an attempt was made to expel Nkrumah. In retaliation, the firebrand expelled the party and, with the more dynamic elements, recreated it as the Convention People's Party with himself as Life Chairman. The long years of study in organizational technique began to pay dividends. Appealing to the West African sense of color and rhythm, mammoth meetings of the revolutionary group were built around jazz music, folk appeal and revivalist frenzy, similar to the Father Divine movement which Nkrumah had joined while in America. But beneath this frenzied veneer, a master plan was steadily unfolding: freedom for the Gold Coast and then a final struggle for an All West African Republic. The first step in this direction was taken on March 6th of this year.

While reading the impassioned events as related in *Ghana*, it is natural to fall into the error of believing that Gold Coast independence was achieved solely through a dialectical love affair between Nkrumah and the underprivileged mass of people. The actual truth is far different.

British policy even before World War II was already concerned with the rumblings of nationalism. The earlier policy of "indirect rule"—rule through local chiefs, rajahs and strong men—began in the 25 years preceding the last

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war to give way to a specific program encouraging native Legislative Councils. Under the new theory of "trusteeship," these councils were considered as embryonic parliaments that, following the historical evolution of the Commonwealth elsewhere, would eventually assume ministerial rule and be limited to native members.

THIS policy was in marked contrast with the French program of "Gallicizing" the natives, aiming not toward the creation of new self-governing units but rather the incorporation of areas into a Greater France. Where the indigenous population was in an overwhelming majority, as the Gold Coast or Nigeria, this forward-looking British position showed marked success, since the only conflict between the new imperial policy and native desire for independence lay in the timetable of events rather than an inherent difference. When Nkrumah, for example, started his violent agitation, the French and the South Africans were disgusted at the ready British acquiescence; they did not understand that this accorded with imperial decision made over a decade before. Prime Minister Nkrumah admits this himself, stating in *Ghana* at a crucial point:

> . . . the next step was a question of strategy; that although the British Government and the British people (with the die-hard imperialists) acknowledged the legitimacy of our demand for self-government, it was only by our own exertions that we would succeed.

He and his colleagues were permitted a freedom of action and propaganda beyond that allowed the NAACP in our South or the Communist Party anywhere in America. If men like Nkrumah had appeared in Spanish, Portuguese or Belgian territories of Africa, they would have been squashed like flies.

The only failure of this new British imperial policy has been where large colonies of white men are permanently settled, like Kenya and Southern Rhodesia. In these areas, the natural evolution towards native rule has been held up by the refusal of the white colonials to relinquish their political power. Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, for example, was as gifted as Kwame Nkrumah and much better known among the Negro masses of his country, but Kenya had arable highlands while the Gold Coast was infested by the mosquito. Therein lies the difference between a Prime Minister and a prisoner with a long sentence.

The situation in the new state of Ghana was ideal for the development of nationalism. Shunning of the area in the early days by whites and Asians (which eventually was fixed by a law forbidding foreigners from owning land) meant that no racial barrier prevented the Africans from entering certain activities and professions. Historical awareness was another factor. The Gold Coast is one of the few areas in Africa south of the Sahara where a strong folk memory of former glory still grips the people. Many tribesmen of the ancient kingdom of Ghana to the north, when conquered by the Almoravids, fled to this region. The Ashantis, one of these groups, beat back a later invasion of Islamic warriors and put up a tremendous struggle against the British. It was not until this century that the entire Gold Coast was pacified.

The consequence was that the population—excepting the Moslem Northern Territorists which are the poorest and have the least influence—became more homogeneous than most African states. The importance of cocoa, the principal commodity, can hardly be exaggerated as a factor integrating the country. Not only is cocoa easy to produce, without requiring large cash investments, but even the most primitive farmer is dependent upon the decisions of the government as it fixes the price he will receive from the Cocoa Marketing Board. The integrated production, transporting and marketing mechanisms created by cocoa farming atomized the earlier social structure of village, chief and region and had its logical culmination in the doctrine of nationalism.

ON THE BACK COVER

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BUT the French put their finger on the real reason behind the extraordinary British amiability in dealing with the upsurge of nationalism. The well-known Parisian newspaper *Le Monde* gave as its subtitle to an article on the new state of Ghana: Only Colony in Black Africa That Can Finance Its Independence. This tells the story in one sentence. For the Gold Coast is incredibly rich and the British desperately need to hold this area in the sterling bloc. After Malaya, Ghana is the most prosperous British dependency. The country has everything: a fertile agricultural belt behind the coast where cocoa is raised; a forested plateau with teeming resources of hardwoods, notably mahogany; abundant mineral deposits of gold, diamonds, manganese and bauxite, the ore for aluminum. Ghana is the largest producer of cocoa in the world and the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board now has a reserve approaching one-half *billion* dollars. It is the largest exporter of manganese and timber in the world. American imports from Ghana are close to $100 million a year, convertible in sterling. Once the Volta River hydro-

Civil Defender

IN winter's silk cocoon, that's where I've been;
but when damned April with its showers of soot
blackens the late March snow, and foot by foot
the caterpillar Spring drags his green body in,
barking on stubby boys shin after shin,
you'll find me digging deep, where I can put
a caisson out and trip him by the root:
you'll find me where his bones lie flayed and thin
this May (green thousand miles each coastward driving)
in brown beside fresh excavations. They're conniving
to bomb me in these anthills where I lurk,
but I've dug in: my shelter sales are thriving.
So there's all summer's green for grabs; I'm rich on hiving
I am the grass-roots trimmer; let me work.
Chicago, 1957

GEORGE STARBUCK

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electric aluminum project—called the TVA of Africa—starts producing, the British who now buy 80 percent of their aluminum with scarce dollars, will obtain it within the sterling area.

Already the five million inhabitants of Ghana (including former British Togoland) have a standard of living higher than most Asian countries and approaching that of backward European nations, and the resources have only begun to be tapped. Such a golden goose is not readily cast away, particularly when the giant Unilever trust—a British monopoly—has an overriding role in the marketing and transport throughout the former colony and neighboring Nigeria. The English learned with commendable speed that native rule meant in fact political control by black men to protect white men's investments. And a study of postwar investment patterns indicates quite clearly that in areas of tropical Africa free of political disturbances (though almost every radical native calls himself a "Socialist," they have no more idea what Socialism implies in a rigorous sense than a frog calling himself an elephant), the British have more successfully applied large-scale economic penetration since World War II than before.

Richard Wright, who lived in Ghana for a brief period, remarked in his recent book *Pagan Spain* that the bush Negro of Africa, free from the shackles of vestigial feudalism, within 50 years may show a higher level of civilization than Europeans. Certainly we are a long way from the blithe statement of the Encyclopedia Brittanica regarding the Gold Coast, that "in earlier days trade was chiefly in slaves (exported) and gin (imported)." If Africa continues to produce such flexible statesmen as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Habib Bourgiba of Tunisia, encyclopedias two centuries hence may show the balance of trade reversed.

Semper Precocious

by John P. Roche

WHEN SOME months ago I suggested in the pages of this journal that the United States Marine Corps was distinguished from the other branches of the armed forces largely by its ideology, its "cult of violence," the wrath of ex-leathernecks cascaded upon my head. However, I now find my analysis richly substantiated by the Korean memoirs of Sergeant Martin Russ, and I trust that the ire of Marine Corps public relations has now shifted to the Book of the Month Club, Rinehart, and Russ.

This is a tough book to tackle, for Russ was clearly an inauthentic Marine and was equally clearly aware of his inauthenticity. "Real" Marines don't keep diaries in which they muse of the cosmos: first of all, it is bad security, and second, it wastes time that could be put to better use sleeping and oiling the BAR's. Thus there is a disembodied quality about these war memoirs—Russ the bohemian intellectual watches with analytical interest the doings of Russ the expert killer. Obviously Sergeant Russ was a very good and very brave Marine, but Intellectual Russ simply can't settle for *that* old-fashioned view, and has to keep passing blasé wisecracks to prove that *he* knows that bravery is really just an act.

Thus we get such precocious schmaltz as this ruining what is otherwise first-rate prose:

> The lieutenant pointed out our [patrol] route through the aperture, a very practical way to conduct a briefing. We were allowed to study the terrain through field glasses. When I came in he smiled and said, "I wondered if you were going to come along." (Watch that stuff, sir. Throw away that Symposium before it's too late, man.) Later we were. . . .

Again, discussing his diary, Russ unloads another real cute stream of consciousness:

> when I get home, there'll be no hurry; I'll be able to sit down at a warm desk . . . and insert some grace into this jumble of words. (Oh, don't be falsely modest, my boy. You are aware that there is a possibility of your getting killed, and you're writing this the best you know how. Isn't that so?—There is not the slightest possibility of my getting killed. However, I am writing this the best I know how.—Well, we'll have to do a little better than this, won't we?)

These inane parenthetical musings recur throughout the book, and the odd part of it is that I am convinced that Russ was aware of their inanity, but insisted on including them as stigmata of intellectuality, as proof that he didn't take himself seriously. Russ' Main Line of Resistance seems to be an almost existential conviction that the universe is a vast practical joke and that anyone who takes ideals seriously is being taken for a ride. The mark of the wise man consequently becomes his recognition that all the noble sentiments are fake and his nervous embarrassment when he finds them in his own character.

Another aspect of Russ' inauthenticity is his fondness for the *really* titillating four letter words. This I find shocking, though for aesthetic rather than moral reasons—I have heard the words before. Men at war, like truckdrivers and members of other masculine callings, develop a colloquial patter of incredible obscenity—except that in this context, the words are divested of their obscene connotations and become in effect meaningless exclamations. Now to transcribe these phrases directly for civilian consumption is, I suggest, to do a bad job of translation, for in civilian circles they really are obscene. Indeed, the most realistic transliteration of military language that I recall was in a movie where—for reasons of censorship and therefore accidentally, I'm sure—one of the soldiers used "rotting" as every second word: "Holy rotting Moses," the lousy rotting Sarge made me take that stinking rotting tent." By aesthetic standards, this was brilliant reproduction of the original meaninglessness of the obscene litany.

HOWEVER, when these criticisms have been registered, *The Last Parallel* still remains as a gripping account of the dirty "little" Korean war. Russ has real talent for graphic description, and if he can divest himself of his self-conscious veneer of cynical precocity, I suspect he will become a fine writer.

The Last Parallel, by Martin Russ (Rinehart; $3.50).

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The Genesis of a Justice

by Leon Edel

THE first volume of Mark De Wolfe Howe's long-awaited biography of Justice Holmes takes his protagonist from 1841 to 1870, that is from the cradle to the threshold of his judicial career. Since Justice Holmes carefully obliterated much of his past, removing the private traces to leave, in a great measure, only the pubic figure, Professor Howe has focused on the forging of the judicial intellect. He has written what he describes as "an essay in intellectual history."

Justice Holmes: The Shaping Years 1841-1870, by Mark De Wolfe Howe (Harvard; $5).

We might add that it is an admirable essay, lucid, thoughtful, balanced, indeed judicial, as one might expect when a Harvard law professor encounters a legal subject, one whom he moreover knew and briefly served as secretary in the year before he died, and whose letters and war diary he has since edited. Step by step, Howe shows us how certain ideas took seed and grew in the young Holmes; how he began and remained a positivist, with a scientific attitude toward law that was not wholly rigid. For the legal genius of Holmes defined itself in a striking ambivalence by which he could look objectively at his data and yet be wholly pragmatic. Out of this kind of legal "relativism" it is not difficult to see the genesis of the dissenting opinions of Mr. Justice Holmes.

The deeper question to be asked, however, is whether "an essay in intellectual history" meets the requirements of biography which is, surely, not to recreate a disembodied mind but to try to recover for posterity also a palpable human figure. It is true that the figure Howe had to recover was far removed from him: he had to try to see, through the veil of his own memory of the 93-year-old Supreme Court Justice, the upright boy of Brahmin Boston, the dashing Captain of the Civil War, the gallant of Beacon Hill and Kirkland Street.

This was not easy, and he has achieved it supremely well in one portion of the book, in a vivid and luminous account of the Civil War years: Ball's Bluff, Antietam, Chancellorville.

Drawing upon material he gave us earlier when he edited Holmes' war diary, Professor Howe tells the story of the Civil War years with a directness and a marshaling of data that sweeps us into the struggle, makes us suffer with young Holmes and experience the action and the passion, the growing skepticism and the disillusion of the young man. What had begun as an ideal to abolish slavery had ended in obliterating life itself. His friends were dead. His regiment was wiped out. The face of the country was blackened. Holmes re-entered civilian life with bleakness in his heart and committed himself to the study of law.

I RETURN to the question with which we began. Has not Howe too seriously limited his story? The dashing youth who looks at us with clear cold eyes out of the Civil War photographs seems to have been an individual of some feeling; one can find a record of it in the warmth of his early correspondence with William James and the deep attachment of the two young men for each other. When Holmes later remarked that "to know is not less than to feel" he offered a statement which a biographer might deeply ponder.

If the data which might have given us more of the emotional life of the young Holmes is lacking, there would seem to be enough to permit certain valid biographical speculations. I recognize that speculation is anathema to the legal mind; it is nevertheless a necessary part of the biographical process, providing always that it proceeds not from fantasy but from evidence.

If such conjecture is permissible, may it not be equally permissible to treat Wendell Holmes' dissents from his father, the amiable Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, as the eternal revolt of a celebrated man's son seeking to find his own identity? And should there not be bolder inquiry into the role in the young man's life of Holmes' mother? For it was on her side of the family that there was an Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court.

There is something chilly and compulsive about the young Holmes which needs explaining, and it is not wholly to be illuminated by his reading of Spencer and Comte or his studies at Harvard. To suggest this is perhaps to ask for a different book and not the carefully delimited volume which Professor Howe has beautifully created. But his work does raise questions of profound interest to any discussion of the nature of biography. I would hazard a guess that a search of the Holmesian materials for their emotional as well as intellectual content would yield us the human side of the famous dissenting opinions—that side which is not explored for us in "the shaping years."

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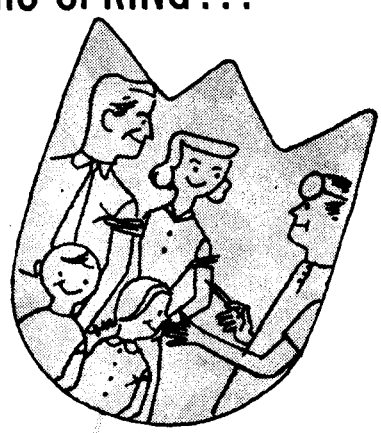

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FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS

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ART

Morgan at Large

FOR 50 years, the Pierpont Morgan Library, at 36th Street and Madison Avenue, New York, has occupied a unique place among the great American collections assembled since the turn of the century by the grand acquisitors of our era. Among the great collections, it was from the first somewhat off-beat, centered on manuscripts, incunabula, drawings and prints. This concentration on "minor" fields, plus the fact that a large part of the paintings was early donated to the Metropolitan Museum, took the Morgan out of the running with the other great amassings of art as far as glamor and popular appeal are concerned. The same note is responsible for the survival of the Morgan identity long after the rival collections of paintings have begun to fade back into the common heritage of man.

With the Medici analogy obviously in mind, the Morgan collection is housed in a McKim, Read and White palazetto, where, by and large, it has been of greater service to scholars than to the general art public. Now, in a celebration of the golden anniversary, a choice selection of 108 items from the collection has been sent on national tour. The show has been in Cleveland and Chicago. As this appears, it is opening in San Francisco, whence to San Marino, Kansas City, Houston and the Fogg museum in Cambridge.

Since the present tour was announced, the Medici analogy has been kicked around again, and it deserves examination. The stock argument against it is that the prominent Florentines gave active, creative patronage to their contemporaries, while the Morgans and their peers ransacked the past to acquire second hand what the Medici had had custom made.

This is true enough, but it is also true that the Medici and *their* peers were hot antiquarians. So, for that matter, were the artists and scholars they supported. While the Medici tomb was a project in contemporary art, the members of the family appear thereon not as Renaissance men but as Romans. Where the analogy really breaks down is on the question, What was a Medici? Albeit we have never seen one, we can answer the question adequately enough. Like Louis XIV, the ruling Medici was the state. Thus when the Morgan collection passes, as it has along with one after another of the great private collections, into the public domain, it, and the others, become truly Medicean at last. The combination of death and taxes, that precise instrument of Renaissance policy, is still at work.

FOR all of death and taxes, for all of public domain, the private identity survives. The reason is that collection itself is an eminently private one. It is no denigration of the sometimes breath-taking aesthetic impact of items in the collection to observe that the sense of personal history is what comes through most strongly. It's an odd thing to say of a collection that is doubly a public monument (to Morgan, who knew how to get the material, and to his librarian for 40 years, Belle Greene, who knew how to make it work), but if a single quality is sought to characterize everything in the group, that quality is intimacy.

The 6th Century manuscript of the younger Pliny's letters; the Carolingian Gospel-book, illuminated in the lavishness of faith; the 15th Century hunting manual, illuminated with the natural lavishness of the sporting type; the rich bindings made for Grolier "and for his friends" and, two centuries later, for the Marquise de Pompadour, the autograph manuscripts and the drawings—all these things are private arts, speaking a relation between craftsman and single patron or between artist and his own soul.

Of all these categories, the bindings, I suppose, are the hardest for the artistic Puritan to accept. He's right, of course, as he often is on first principles, but here, as often, there's no need for first principles. The tooled arabesques, the gilt edges add not a scrap to Petrarch's sweet songs within, yet they do express, better than we can ourselves, the reverence and the joy we properly feel. The Grolier binding is a perfect example of the peculiarly French talent for getting grace out of elegance, for multiplying the intricate until it is simple.

Autograph manuscripts, no doubt, invoke the same Puritanical contempt, yet there is a thrill beyond those of literary tourism in confronting the ungainly script in ink now brown, "A thing of beauty is a joy forever." The first page of *Eugénie Grandet* tells us much about Balzac's method of composition, which reflects fantastically the rhythm and drive of the world he drew. Thoreau's *Journal* is another matter. "Walden Sat.—Yesterday I came here to live." We crash painfully against the imitation palace on 36th street.

The master drawings are spread over five centuries, from a Florentine sketch for a fresco of about 1350 to Lawrence's penetrating portrait of Pius VII. Fragonard's landscape is refreshingly an honest to goodness pastoral in pencil and wash, not an elegant masque of the simple life. For elegance, there is an elaborate and impossible Piranesi design for a gondola in which the Venetian appears as a kind of eighteenth century Saul Steinberg. Rembrandt is represented by two of his great themes, the passion of Christ and the artist's first wife, Saskia. She is caught forever in a household moment, carrying their son, Rumbartus, down some steps. A few authoritative lines get the movement and the stresses, light and mass are fixed in the washes. A Dürer "Adam and Eve" is the crucial moment in his long study of the human figure. The two forms were sketched separately, then pasted together and united by a background wash. Each is the sum of observation, geometry and a theory of human perfection.

THE special privilege offered by the drawings is that of watching the artist at work and of seeing, in many instances, the first forms of elements already known in more finished works.

All in all, the Morgan on tour is a treat for the nation and should increase business enormously at the home office at 36th and Madison.

FRANK GETLEIN

ON THE BACK COVER

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THEATRE

Orpheus in Dixie

IN Tennessee Williams' *Orpheus Descending,* two plays contend for dominance. One is a sort of morality play about what happens in a small benighted Southern town when a representative of the forces of light wanders in in the person of a handsome youth carrying a guitar. Val Xavier (Cliff Robertson) has been through the mill of iniquity in New Orleans, but he has been saved by music, and now his face is turned against corruption. Val is rejected by the people of the town except for those who are already in its bad graces; in the end the darkness gets darker and the bringer of light is crucified. This play is essentially as pat and sentimental, in a reverse sense, as *The Passing of the Third Floor Back.*

The other play revolves around the only person on whom Val has any real effect, a woman named Lady Torrance. She is an Italian, in a town that hates foreigners as well as Negroes. We learn that her father was burned alive fighting a fire that his neighbors had set. When the play begins she is running the dry-goods store of her fatally ill husband Jabe, a brute of a man who, we are told, has "bought" Lady and treats her accordingly. I missed the reason why Jabe Torrance was able to buy Lady—the play abounds in feeble explanations — but Lady's bitter disillusionment is clear enough, and her reality is quickly established.

When the young stranger comes in carrying his guitar and wearing a snakeskin jacket (symbolizing the "something wild," *i.e.,* uncorruptible about Val Xavier) he meets in Lady only the suspicion with which she justifiably regards all human beings. But she gives him a job. Gradually she comes to trust him, and slowly she responds to his ingenuous goodness. In a quite natural way the two drift into an affair, and when Lady finds that she is pregnant she feels, and we share her feeling, that she has won, that life and joy have triumphed.

Unfortunately, at this point the morality play takes over and all is confusion. Lady's transformation is obscured and distorted, and we are clearly expected to regard it as only an incident in the passing of the youth with the guitar. But we know better, and we can only wonder why Mr. Williams has not centered his play on its only genuinely dramatic sequence and its only dynamic character. Instead, beginning with the title he puts the main emphasis on the young man. But the young man is necessarily a static character, if only because he has already been saved before the play begins—he is important only in his effect on other people—and this being so he cannot possibly command the interest that Lady engenders.

ACTUALLY every character except Lady has been saved or last before the play begins and each remains at the end exactly as he was at the beginning. It is not surprising therefore that Lady steals, or almost steals, the show which by rights belongs to her anyway.

It is possible, of course, that Lady would not be as convincing as she is or as outstanding in relation to the rest of the piece if her part were played by an actress less accomplished and less vital than Maureen Stapleton; the part has flaws. But Miss Stapleton, after all, does play it as it is written. As I have attempted to demonstrate, it is by far the best part in *Orpheus Descending* and it is news of a sort in the Williams canon. Lady is portrayed with a compassion that he has not shown toward women, so far as I know, since *The Glass Menagerie* and she is granted more autonomy than usual. She is excused from the hysterical obsession with sex unrequited with which the women in his plays are so often burdened. Best of all, she is a character who develops, who undergoes significant change, as we watch, and this too is unusual. For contrast, we have only to look at Blanche in *A Streetcar Named Desire.* Like Carol, the "lewd vagrant" of *Orpheus,* Blanche is already "finished" at the outset; the sequence by which she has arrived at her hysteric state is not shown but merely reviewed in a series of interpolations. Blanche—or is it the muse of drama?—has her revenge, in a way: *Streetcar,* dramatically speaking, is one long third act. And in the present play Lady's story, though it does not prevail, asserts itself so strongly that the morality play is revealed for the weak thing it is and even its horrendous ending as we hear from offstage the sound of the dogs tearing the young man to pieces—seems more epilogue than climax.

The acting in *Orpheus Descending* is generally satisfactory. Cliff Robertson as the young man plays against odds. Sheer goodness is difficult to dramatize and some of the "poetic" and "philosophic" lines he is called upon to speak are embarrassing to listen to. But he carries off the role remarkably well. On the other hand, Lois Smith's shrill hysteria as the "lewd vagrant" becomes pretty wearing. The spiteful women emerge in quick vivid portraits, and Joanne Roos is particularly good as the sheriff's wife who sees visions. The play is well directed, given its basic confusion, and the single set by Boris Aronson is at once realistic and genuinely poetic.

Mr. Williams, according to his own report, has rewritten this play several times. He should give it one more whirl. Lady is worth saving.

MARGARET MARSHALL

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RECORDS

Schnabel's Beethoven Sonatas

PERIODICALLY the musical scene is enlivened by one of the collective brainstorms of the reviewers that are like the sudden commotions in barnyards. One of the most ludicrous of these uproars over nothing was set off some years ago by the New York debut of the pianist Maryla Jonas; another more recently by the return (in an all-Beethoven program) after 28 years' absence, of Wilhelm Backhaus; and in the past year there has been the excitement over the playing of Josef Hofmann on a record with some of his performances (of Chopin, Moskowski, Mendelssohn, etc.) at his golden jubilee concert in 1937.

Concerning Backhaus' reappearance the general critical estimate was expressed in the statement of one reviewer that Backhaus had "played Beethoven as he hasn't been played here in 28 years." I doubted this—on the one hand because of what I remembered of some performances of Beethoven in those years, and on the other hand because of what I remembered of Backhaus' playing in the mid-twenties and his more recent playing on records.

As it happened, the Backhaus recital was recorded in its entirety and issued on London LL-1108/9, and RCA Victor has at last issued on LM-9500, a deluxe packaging of thirteen records, the performances of Beethoven's 32 sonatas that Schnabel recorded for HMV between 1932 and 1935. And one can hear in Backhaus' playing the absence of the cohesive tension of Schnabel's playing—the tension from one note to the next that gives continuous life and outline to the phrase, and that Schnabel carries beyond the phrase through the entire movement. Which is to say that one can hear the perfunctory playing of the introduction to the sonata Op. 111 in which Backhaus reveals his unawareness of what Schnabel is so evidently aware of—things like the increasing dramatic suspense created by the increasingly hushed chords of the two hands that draw closer together in the middle of the piano, and the dramatic effect when the left hand drops to a low octave.

Toscanini once spoke of the difficulty of playing Mozart as one of knowing what to do between the *piano* here and the *forte* eight bars later. If one listens to Schnabel's performance of the first page of the sonata Op. 81a, or its concluding page, or the adagio of Op. 53, and follows the music with the printed text (Victor provides Schnabel's own edition of the sonatas), one discovers that it is what he knows to do between Beethoven's more numerous *p*'s and *f*'s that makes Schnabel's playing of this music —his inflection of phrase, his shaping, articulating and clarifying of larger structure—unique and incomparable.

THE Hofmann performances on Columbia KL-4929 have been described as exemplifying a great tradition that has been lost, and as exhibiting in this tradition a degree of pianistic and musical mastery not attained even by Hofmann's contemporaries. And for those affected in this way by Hofmann's playing, Schnabel was only a man with noble musical conceptions who lacked the technical equipment with which to realize them. The Hofmann record does certainly demonstrate a prodigious mastery of the piano; but it also exhibits an operation similar to that of the famous singers of his period who distorted the phrases of an aria in using it to show off their voices: the Hofmann performances are distorting manipulations of the pieces of music to show off all the things he can do with them and with the piano.

Schnabel, instead, used the piano to illuminate the piece of music; and to speak of a melodic legato like his—which creates note-to-note continuity of tension and outline in sounds that begin to die out as soon as they are produced —is to speak of something done by a highly accomplished musician who is also a highly accomplished pianist. And in the Schnabel Beethoven performances one hears for the most part the playing of a great musician and a superb pianist.

I say for the most part because one hears occasionally a melodic phrase distorted, a finale rushed and confused; and in addition to such flaws caused by excessive intensity or excitement of the moment one hears occasionally an especially difficult Beethoven figuration that Schnabel cannot execute accurately. But of these things one must say what Tovey said of the flaws in Schubert: that "the highest qualities attained in important parts of a great work are as indestructible by weaknesses elsewhere as if the weaknesses were the accidents of physical ruin." The greatness of Schnabel's playing in most of the first movement of Beethoven's Op. 111, then, is not lessened by his imperfect execution of some of the passage-work; and the imperfections in the first movement do not flaw the perfection of the performance of the concluding variation movement.

The dubbed sound hasn't the solidity and spaciousness of the 78-rpm original; but in only a few instances is it poor—Op. 101 being the worst. The adagio of Op. 53 wavered badly in pitch in one pressing I heard, but not in two others. I imagine Victor will issue the thirteen records in a less expensive package eventually; meanwhile there are the previous-issued single records: LCT-1109 with Opp. 111, 90, 78; LCT-1110 with Opp. 109,27-1, 14-1; LCT-1154 with Opp. 110,31-2, 28; LCT-1155 with Opp. 81a, 27-2, 2-2. On the latter two of these records the treble has been peaked and should be reduced. In addition LCT-6700 has Schnabel's superb pre-war performances of Beethoven's five piano concertos; and Victor's new *Vault Treasures* series offers his post-war performance of the Beethoven Concerto No. 4, with some of the most beautiful playing he ever recorded, on LVT-1010, and his performances of Schubert's lovely Impromptus Opp. 90 and 142 on LVT-1019. The two LVT's require additional bass.

B. H. HAGGIN

Notes on Contributors

DANIEL M. FRIEDENBERG writes frequently on African affairs. GEORGE STARBUCK is a Chicago poet. JOHN P. ROCHE is on the faculty of Brandeis University. LEON EDEL is completing his biography of Henry James. FRANK GETLEIN is art critic of *The Milwaukee Journal*. MARGARET MARSHALL is an editor of Harcourt, Brace. B. H. HAGGIN begins his monthly *NR* record column with this issue.

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Correspondence

(*Continued from page 3*)

in England he would have done at school, and equally serious, he arrives at college without the preparation for the university type of study. . . . So when the American student takes his BA he is decidedly behind the English student of comparable age and ability. . . . We cannot learn anything from their high schools.

(*The Listener*, July 3, 1952)

The Economist (March 9, 1957) writes of the British middle class, and the standards of education which they expect:

> They do not worry because none of the staff in the [private schools] has a teacher's training certificate; they are only mildly enthusiastic about arts and crafts; and they care not at all for "free activity." They are not in the least moved by educationalists' indictments of the "straitjacket of examinations" and are not afraid that their children will have nervous breakdowns at the thought of taking the common entrance examination for the public schools.

Perhaps we should reverse the direction of travel grants—Americans should be sent abroad to see the standards of the public and privately supported English schools like the Manchester Grammar School and Winchester College and the distinguished gymnasia and lycées of the Continent. Of course they might return with stronger prejudices against the elite produced by a system which differentiates according to capacity and motivation. But at least we might break down the "best of all worlds" illusion which seems now to forestall serious discussion.

ROGER W. WEISS

Chicago, Illinois

" . . . human values and human worth"

MR. BESTOR wants us to narrow the educational gap; but "educationists" have found that as they develop patterns of experience adapted to the individual variations within their pupils that, with regard to any one variable of human potentiality, the gap becomes wider between the "gifted" and the "non-gifted." Two boys, the one with high potential for abstract mathematical reasoning and the other with much lower potential, under an effective program of education, find themselves not closer together in the development of this ability after any given period of time, but rather they find themselves farther apart. It is in this maximum development of each child's uniqueness that the promise of America lies; not in seeking to "level up" one child to the "level" of another.

There is a rather firm commitment among American educationists to the thought that the uniqueness of each child has a value which transcends all others, and that if we have not been wise enough to have yet succeeded in achieving the fullest promises of this commitment, at least the children of our schools have built a strong and great nation which has been able to survive two major wars without deserting its historic dedication to human values and human worth.

These words are not written as a paean to cover our imperfections, but they are written in the hope that in our blindness to secure a more effective education for some of our children that we do not forget that America has been seeking, as well, to fulfill its obligation to all of its children.

ELIZABETH A. PELLETT

Rivera, California

" . . . the schools are in bad shape"

MAY the facts continue to be published informing the people that will listen that the public schools in America are in a bad shape.

I have been teaching for 8 years on the elementary and high school level and I can truthfully say that the standards set by pubilc schools which are supposed to be among the best in the nation are deplorably low. Not only the administrators are doing everything in their power to keep them low, but the majority of the teachers (elementary and high) are far from being really educated, many having a dislike for scholarship and all that it entails. They not only don't know their subject matter but fail to improve their minds from one year to the next. The parents are not far behind; it seems as long as their child receives a satisfactory grade, they will not complain.

The pitiful thing about it all is the support given to the school board and administrators by people who should know better. It makes one pessimistic regarding the future of America.

(NAME WITHHELD)

Portland, Oregon

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